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PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly
No. 1,048 July 27, 1956 4d. (U.S. Air Express Edition: 10 cts.)

RUSSIA, THE WEST, AND DISARMAMENT

By Chakravarty Rajagopalachari
GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA 1948-50

The writer of this special contribution to Peace News joined Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation movement in 1919 and became General Secretary of the Indian National Congress in 1921. He had been associated with the Indian Freedom Movement since 1906 and underwent imprisonment five times. He was Prime Minister of Madras from 1937-39 and succeeded Earl Mountbatten as Governor-General of India in June 1948. A few months ago he joined with Vinoba Bhave in issuing a call to India to disarm.

IN connection with nuclear weapons, some time ago I pleaded for an appreciation of an ancient tactic against evil—that one must do the right thing without waiting for the "other fellow."

My letter to The New York Times fell on sceptical ears as far as government was concerned. Private men and women in America, a very large number, I believe, were in agreement but they felt it was not their job but their government's.

In this world, the unexpected often happens. The a-moral government of the USSR has accepted the principle of unilateral action. It has successfully seized the initiative. It has announced and proceeded with unilateral action in many important matters and now publicly presses for the adoption of that principle by all nations concerned in world disarmament.

This attitude has met with cold and cynical reaction instead of encouragement and imitation or co-operation. Instead of welcoming this great and hopeful line of action, the Western nations actually plead against it and protest that what is wanted is agreement and simultaneous multilateral action.

To those who cling to the ancient faith that right ever wins and not might, this is a sad and grievous disappointment. Some of us thought that the West being professedly Christian would be the first to understand.

But the ways of providence are mysterious and it may be that this is God's way to humble the proud. An a-moral government has proved to be the better Christian! I do not say that Russia has accepted the full moral doctrine of unilateral action. But she has, I believe, seen the expediency of it.

Begin to act

She has realised the necessity of it for getting out of the present fatal entanglement.

To realise the practical necessity of a step and to have realised it so clearly as to begin to act on that basis in spite of the risks, is the first step to a more complete acceptance of the moral doctrine.

It is wrong to indulge in belittling what Russia has done and is doing, when we are not prepared to do even so much.

Mankind was blessed with a brain constituted for co-operation and peaceful progress. Is it not a pity that after so many millennia, men are full of fear of one another? And in that we are worse than our fellow-beings that are not blessed with our brains and have no speech, the beasts of the forest and the birds and reptiles.

With all our tremendous advantages we have not learnt the way of peace and look out for caves in which to hide against human enemies and are engaged in manufacturing poisons and making monstrous contrivances to kill one another that we and our properties may be safe.

Yet we all know for certain, not even the armament-industrialists would deny it, that men and women of all nations fervently believe in and desire peace and mutual trust and heartily hate the opposite.

The saddest and strangest paradox of human civilization is this contradiction between what we all desire and what notwithstanding that we do. And it is a tremendously expensive contradiction, and a most perilous one.

Alternative to fear

Fear is eating into the vitals of all the nations. The humble have no means to defend themselves of "deterrence" and cannot afford to indulge in what fear dictates.

There is what I may call a law of abstinence, which if we do not feed an emotion, the emotion dies of starvation. The poorer nations of the world have, therefore, learnt to be less afraid and are comparatively happier than the prosperous and great. The human family is, however, one and the progress of invention has brought about a total unity of human disaster. Madness at any point in the world will involve the whole of it in disaster. The peril is imminent.

I respectfully appeal to my friends in the

London-Moscow phone call confirms that a TOP SOVIET SCIENTIST REFUSED TO WORK ON H-BOMB

Kapitsa defied Stalin; free under new regime

BY THE EDITOR

ACADEMICIAN Peter Kapitsa, leading Russian nuclear physicist and Director of the Soviet Institute for Physical Problems in Moscow, refused, on

moral grounds, to work on thermo-nuclear weapons. He confirmed this in a telephone conversation with Peace News on Tuesday morning.

For many years before World War II Peter Kapitsa worked at Cambridge University on the behaviour of hydrogen. During that time he became acquainted with the late Dr. Alex Wood, a distinguished British physicist who also refused later to work on atomic weapons. Dr. Wood was Chairman of Peace News Ltd. until the time of his death in 1950.

In 1934 Kapitsa went to Moscow for a scientific conference. After that there was silence.

Since Stalin's death, Kapitsa has been in evidence at conferences of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, of which he is a member.

REFUSED ON MORAL GROUNDS

Last week an article about Kapitsa, and his refusal to work on nuclear weapons, appeared in the right-wing American news magazine, Time.

"In the years following World War II," said Time, "when the menace of the hydrogen bomb loomed large and black, the thoughts of many a scientist who had known Kapitsa harked back to the days of his early and significant experiments on the behaviour of hydrogen."

"It was presumed that if Russia had indeed perfected an H-bomb, Kapitsa's vast knowledge must have been of considerable help. The Russian government granted him a long list on honours."

"Last week a party of Western scientists, recently returned from a scientific conference in Moscow, reported that Kapitsa, far from helping the Soviet H-bomb project, had run about of Dictator Stalin for refusing on moral grounds to devote himself to the development of thermo-nuclear weapons. For the last seven years of the Stalin regime, he had, in fact, been kept under house arrest."

"One of the first acts of the post-Stalin government had been to release the hostage scientist, give him a couple of chauffeur-driven cars and restore him to his former post as Director of the Soviet Institute for Physical Problems, so that he can dabble with his favourite problem: the behaviour of matter at extremely low temperatures."

To obtain confirmation of Academician Kapitsa's refusal to work on the bomb, I telephoned him at Institut Physique de l'Academie des Sciences, Moscow, on Tuesday morning. The direct land line service, which was inaugurated last year, was subject to fading.

"WE ALL WANT PEACE"

After telling the distinguished scientist that it was Peace News calling him from London, the newspaper with which his friend the late Dr. Alex Wood of Cambridge was associated, I continued:

"Dr. Alex Wood had spoken well of you. There has been a report that you had refused to work on thermo-nuclear weapons. Can you confirm this?"

ACADEMICIAN KAPITSA: Quite right.

"This news will be a great encouragement to many people here in England, and to all who are working for peace. Would you like to give a message to the English people?"

ACADEMICIAN KAPITSA: It is difficult. I should like to think about it... difficult. We all want peace.

"What importance do you attach to this refusal; are there others in Russia unwilling to work on thermo-nuclear weapons?"

Qualifying comments which could not be heard clearly followed Peter Kapitsa's "Yes," and then came the familiar pups which indicated that three minutes had expired.

"I'm afraid we shall have to say goodbye," "Yes. Goodbye. Thanks for calling."

Briefly

The Hon. S. A. George, Member of the Executive Council of the Southern Cameroons informs us that, contrary to a PN report last week, the Cameroons National Congress is the elected government in the Trust Territory of Southern Cameroons, and has one member in the Federal Cabinet of Nigeria. The Cameroons National Congress favours the union of the Cameroons, now under British and French rule, and the territory's independence. The Cameroons' People's Party is the opposition party in the territory.

The War Resisters' International Council, meeting in London, July 16-19, approved India as the place of its 1960 Council session. December 1 was established as "Prisoner for Peace Day" on which to express solidarity with imprisoned war resisters. Arlo Tafam was made General Secretary of the WRI. A full report will appear next week.



Alms for Arms?

THE ISSUES IN THE NIGERIA CRISIS

By Gene Sharp

This report is based upon three lengthy cables received on July 22 and 23 from Dr. Azikiwe to Mr. George Padmore in London, a well-known authority on West African Affairs. Mr. Padmore has made these cables available to Peace News.

IN the current constitutional crisis in Nigeria—which has seriously affected the London conference to draft an independence constitution for Nigeria, scheduled for September—"Four main issues are involved," declares Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, Premier of Eastern Region of Nigeria.

1. The investment of public funds in a Nigerian bank;
2. the removal of a former government Chief Whip as Chairman of the Eastern Region Development Corporation;
3. the motion of Mr. Eyo in the Eastern House of Assembly for a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the investment of public funds in a Nigerian bank; and
4. the role of His Excellency the Governor in all these matters."

He criticised the opposition Action Group for "having no spunk to stand firm against the inroad which British banking interests make against nationalist governments" and for having "no stomach to fight hard and ensure the winning of economic freedom contemporaneously with the gaining of political freedom."

1. The decision by the Minister of Finance to disperse Government funds into three banks was made, he said, "in accordance with the reports of the International Bank Mission to Nigeria early in 1955."

BANKING MONOPOLY BROKEN

The Government decided to use the Bank of British West Africa, Barclays (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas) and the African Continental Bank, as the three depositories of Governmental funds. Dr. Azikiwe was away on an official mission to the United Kingdom and the United States when this decision was taken.

The Government of Eastern Nigeria decided to invest £877,000 (not £2,000,000 as charged by Mr. Eyo or £30,000 as reported in PN last week) in the African Continental Bank Ltd. The investment was made and the bank was licensed in September, 1955.

Prior to this arrangement the Bank of British West Africa Ltd., "had enjoyed monopoly of being sole depository of Government funds from time immemorial."

"Governor Pleass advised the Government of the Eastern Region to invest public funds

COMMISSION APPOINTED

On Tuesday, Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the Colonial Secretary, announced that he had invited Sir Stafford Foster-Sutton, Chief Justice of the Federation of Nigeria, to head a commission of inquiry. Other members and terms of reference are to be announced later.

He also announced a postponement of the September constitutional conference.

BROCKWAY, comments:

In principle I take the view that any charges against public persons in Nigeria should be dealt with by the Nigerian people and not by a commission imposed from this country.

in the African Continental Bank Ltd. to enable it to have sufficient capital with which to aid the development of the region's economy.

Dr. Azikiwe declared that "neither myself nor my colleagues have done anything fraudulent with public funds entrusted into our care nor have we behaved improperly in connection with the investment of public funds in the African Continental Bank Ltd."

"I challenge anybody to substantiate allegations to the contrary in a law court."

As reported in PN last week, Dr. Azikiwe, the founder, former Chairman and former Governing Director of the Bank, had disclosed these offices to the Lieutenant Governor before being appointed Minister of State and

★ ON BACK PAGE

In PEACE NEWS next week: A HIROSHIMA DAY MESSAGE FROM THE MAYOR OF HIROSHIMA

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★ ON BACK PAGE

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Distribution office for U.S.A.:
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DEFENCE MANOEUVRES

BOTH the British Conservative Government and the Labour Party are contemplating a drastic revision of the compulsory military conscription arrangements. The Government have been hesitating between a complete abandonment of conscription and its radical modification.

The abolition of conscription would give the Conservatives an election appeal. The doubts about its abolition derive from Britain's consequent inability to meet its "commitments" arising from NATO, SEATO and other agreements which are instruments of the power struggle.

The Parliamentary Labour Party, however, is now calling for the end of the call-up by December 1958. The last conscripts would thus be released two years later. Whatever the Government may do, the Parliamentary Labour Party has put itself in line to claim electoral credit.

★ ★

SIMILARLY, the two parties are both contemplating very heavy cuts in armaments expenditure. £400,000,000 per year is mentioned as the Government's calculation of what may be saved by cutting arms spending in the face of the country's increasingly difficult economic situation.

The Labour Party has held it to be more discreet not to name a figure it favours for such cuts. £500,000,000 has been mentioned, but the cut aimed at is left indefinite.

To have outbid the Government would have required specific suggestions as to where the savings were to be made and how military commitments were to be cut down. The absence of a figure gives greater flexibility of approach—of propaganda approach, anyhow.

There is considerable artificiality in the way both parties are approaching this matter.

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THE arms cuts proposed by the Government will require such a drastic revision of the armed forces, their deployment in the world, and the development of military equipment, that it is clear—unless the cuts are contemplated as merely temporary reductions—that the whole conception upon which the "defence" structure has been founded, is now recognised as mistaken.

The Labour Party has already made it clear that it is in the same boat as the Government so far as this aspect is concerned. Its recent foreign policy declarations show there is no difference in substance between it and the Government on the need to maintain NATO, SEATO, or even the Baghdad Pact.

All these military instruments were formulated on the assumption of a need to build up the military power of the Western bloc to meet the military power of the Eastern bloc.

If the situation is now such that in the Labour Party's view military power can be reduced, this cumbersome military structure of NATO should be demolished.

★ ★

THE ending of NATO ought to be a major preoccupation of the Labour Party. During over seven years, NATO has built up a powerful body of vested interests that will seek to maintain it, despite its continued existence militating against the relaxing of tensions and ending the cold war.

In a world dominated by an H-bomb stalemate where the military function of NATO is becoming outdated, such groups have to find means of keeping the cold war alive in other ways.

Labour should seek liberation from the pact's domination, the freeing of social policy from the dictates of militarisation and the renewal of those earlier international conceptions of which such machinery of bloc organisation as NATO is a standing denial.

THE GOLD COAST ELECTION

NOW that Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party have won 71 out of 104 seats in the Legislative Assembly nothing must be allowed to delay early independence in the Gold Coast.

The General Election was forced upon the country following an intensive campaign, carried on both here and in London, to spread the idea that the CPP Government no longer enjoyed the confidence of the people.

In the House of Commons, Colonial Secretary, Lennox-Boyd said:

"I have told Dr. Nkrumah that if a general election is held Her Majesty's Government will be ready to accept a motion calling for independence within the Commonwealth passed by a reasonable majority in a newly-elected Legislature and then to declare a firm date for this purpose."

By any democratic political standards, an overall majority of 38 in an Assembly of 104 members is "a reasonable majority."

CONSTITUTION

The CPP lost some seats, but it gained others, and by coincidence it has finished with the exact number (71) which it won in the last election, two years ago.

There is a strong possibility that one of the two victorious independents will join the CPP. Last time the Government augmented its strength in this way.

Further comment would be unnecessary except that the London Observer has made the astounding

DOUGLAS G. ROGERS
reports from
Accra

suggestion (July 8) that, whatever the result of the election, the British Government should not consider handing over power until a "widely representative Constituent Assembly" has been called to "hammer out an acceptable constitution" and "clear up the allegations of nepotism and corruption."

It is fantastic that an allegedly responsible newspaper could make so profoundly dangerous a proposal. It will, of course, be seized upon by all those elements who are seeking for a last straw by which to delay independence.

If it were accepted, consequences of the utmost danger would follow in the Gold Coast.

Behind the Observer proposal (printed before the Election) is not only the knowledge that the CPP would win, but also the insinuation that the divisions in the country are so great that normal democratic decision is inapplicable.

Let us, therefore, examine the election results in more detail.

In the Colony the CPP won every seat. In Ashanti, the stronghold of the opposition National Liberation Movement, it won eight out of 21 seats; in the Northern Territories, where there is great Muslim influence supporting the Northern People's Party, it won 11 out of 26; and in

Trans-Volta Togoland, where there is a strong Ewe agitation for union of the two Togolands, it won eight out of 13.

The opposition parties won the following: NLM 12 (all in Ashanti); Moslem Association Party, one (in Ashanti); Northern People's Party, 15 (all in Northern Territories); Togoland Congress, two (in Togoland); Federation of Youth Organisations, one (in Togoland); and Independents, two (in Togoland).

Thus, only the CPP won seats in every region. None of the opposing parties won seats other than in a single region.

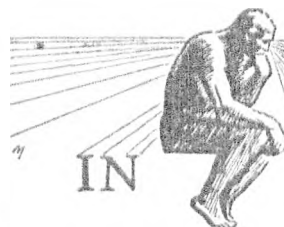
AWARENESS

The election was fought on the issue of a unitary versus a federal constitution and the opposition parties united in the negative task of opposing the CPP and advocating a federal constitution—which the CPP (rightly in my view) says is politically and economically impractical in a country so small and undeveloped as the Gold Coast.

I have now been in the country for three months and have therefore observed the election since it was first decided to dissolve the Assembly.

I travelled over 2,000 miles about the country during the actual campaign, was amazed at the interest and political awareness of the people, and am convinced that there was not a town or village where the issues were not perfectly understood.

★ ON PAGE FIVE



EVEN less than the British Communists has the French Communist Party in its Congress last week at Le Havre shown any real disposition to take genuine account of the lessons of the terrible admissions that have been made regarding the Stalin regime.

It is significant that the Khrushchov revelations are having more important consequences in the Communist States than they are in the Communist Parties of the West.

In the Communist States the members of the Parties are vitally concerned with the fact that they have to face a disillusioned public opinion, not in the Communist Party, and which is not permitted to be organised in any other party.

The Communists of the West during this crisis period are more concerned to turn their attention inwards without regard to external public opinion and the conception that dominates their activities—that any immorality, however base, is less to be reproached than party disunity—gives the leaders, discredited on any normal standards, the necessary leverage in the Party councils.

The effect of the Khrushchov revelations will not be found in any transformation of the Western Communist Parties but in their future failure in appeal to decent opinion, and their decay.

Real criticism

RATHER surprisingly the French Communist Congress seems to have been a tamer affair even than that of the British Communists. The latter did at least gently set Harry Pollitt aside as providing a possibly embarrassing figurehead.

Maurice Thorez on the other hand, than whom none in the West has been more guilty of condoning the deadly blackguardism of Stalinism, is left undisturbed in his position.

It is depressing to remark that in an audience of Frenchmen one brazen piece of argument advanced by Thorez was greatly applauded.

He claimed that what Khrushchov had done represented a piece of courageous self-criticism and he asked whether any self-criticism had been heard of the politics of Franco, the politics of Munich, or the policy of the men who were responsible for Dien Bien Phu.

It may be admitted there has not been anything like the Khrushchov speech in regard to the Franco regime.

This is possibly an advantage that Russian totalitarianism has over Spanish, but we must be a little reserved about this for Franco is not dead yet.

Thorez must surely recognise, however, that there is a vast difference between "self-criticism" after the event, with a complete suppression of criticism at the time, and a situation in which, while a policy is being enacted there is a freedom of criticism for those who disagree with it.

There has been plenty of criticism in France regarding the policy pur-

sued in Indo-China, the Communists among others having been free to express their criticisms.

Self-government

THE result of the general election in the Gold Coast has been decisive in more senses than one. (See report below.)

The leader of the National Liberation Movement, the chief opposing party to the Convention People's Party, Professor Kofi Busia, claims

Communists Gold Coast Nuremburg Economic aid

that the overall result "clearly resolves the constitutional dispute in favour of those who advocate a federal form of government." If, despite the successes in the South, Ashanti and the Northern Territories had shown majorities against the CPP, there would be much to be said for Professor Busia's claim. This is not so, however.

Pacifist observers of developments in the Gold Coast have naturally had mixed views on what was a desirable outcome.

On the one hand it is no more to be desired that the tribal traditions of the Ashanti and the Northern Territories should be over-ridden by the South than that the wishes of the inhabitants of the Gold Coast territories as a whole should be over-ridden by Britain.

On the other hand we are conscious that "divide and rule" is a well-worn imperialist tactic.

Dr. Nkrumah has given evidence of a willingness to go far to meet the wishes of the Ashanti and of the people of the North, and it is a matter for congratulation that the dissident parties in these areas are substantially represented although in a minority.

It is incumbent now upon the British Government to move helpfully and expeditiously to the complete self-government of the Gold Coast. We hope that this will be achieved before many months have passed and that the governing Party under Dr. Nkrumah will shape the future governmental and administrative arrangements in a liberal spirit.

Their successful accomplishment will have important consequences throughout the whole Continent.

On trial

ELEVEN years after Nuremburg six French soldiers have been put on trial in Paris on war crimes charges. At the end of the war in the German village of Appenweier, a number of Germans had constituted themselves a "resistance" movement.

Three of them had been denounced by their neighbours to the French, and had been summarily executed by this group of young French soldiers

under the command of Sub-lieutenant Maurice Collet, then 24 years of age.

The trial of the six has been undertaken under pressure of German opinion, which has, of course, not forgotten the principles that were laid down at Nuremburg as a necessary development in international law.

In contrast with the Nuremburg procedures, however, these six men were judged by their own compatriots.

Shame

THE five subordinates were held to have acted under orders and, in contrast with the principles enunciated at Nuremburg, this was held to exculpate them. They were acquitted.

Lieutenant Collet, who gave the orders was held to be guilty. He was sentenced to imprisonment for one year.

He was then immediately released under amnesty, it being held that in this way the Court could mark its disapprobation of what had been done without being unjust to those who had been responsible for it.

There will be few who will regret that eleven years after they had committed those acts in the atmosphere of war, these young men have not been punished by the Court.

What was on trial at this military court in Paris was not so much these six young men as the Nuremburg procedures, and the result has been a condemnation.

Evil as was the Nazi regime, and ruthless and hardened soldiers as were most of those who were condemned, it is only possible to contemplate the Nuremburg war crimes trials today with a sense of shame.

Aid to satellites?

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH recently made the interesting suggestion that the United States might repeat the offer—originally contemplated as part of the Marshall plan—to extend foreign aid to Eastern Europe as well as to Western Europe.

It was Stalin who made it clear to the Russian satellite governments that Russia would not tolerate acceptance of this aid, and the Czechoslovakian Government, which was inclined to consider the advantages of acceptance, was compelled to revise its view.

Stalin is dead now, and a different policy obtains in regard to Russia's dealings with the West.

Yugoslavia has returned out of the no-man's-land it has been occupying between the two blocs, but it is less disposed to accept American aid if the American Government continues to be willing to accord it.

The Daily Telegraph remarks that if Washington were to offer assistance to other Eastern European countries "this would not only be a dramatic test of just how independent their governments now are, but it would also steal some of Mr. Khrushchov's rouble offensive thunder."

It might have quite other consequences, however. It might be an important step in the coming together of America and Russia for the easing of their respective economic pressures.

From the Editor's Notebook

French, Belgian, English

LAST Friday saw a number of overseas visitors calling at Peace News office.

Bernard Salmon (France) and Hem Day (Belgium), in London for the Council meeting of the War Resisters' International, were chatting cheerily in French on their way out of the office when up the stairs came young and attractive Pat Platteau, English wife of Belgian conscientious objector Noel Platteau, in England for a fortnight's holiday.

I Will Not Kill

THE Platteaus do a first-class piece of work for the CO movement in Belgium by producing "IRCI", a duplicated news bulletin.

Just now they are trying to secure the distribution of an important new book—which the authorities are seizing from the mails—"I Will Not Kill", by Jacques Le Jeune, young Belgian CO recently sentenced to a second term of imprisonment for refusing military service.

The book, an outstanding contribution to French pacifist literature, was written at the request of the military authorities!

He didn't say it

IT happened this way. Le Jeune was asked by the military to write down the basis of his objection. His statement came out at book length, for he had drawn on the writings of many pacifists and quoted the opinions of many public

figures.

To show Le Jeune in an unfavourable light, extracts from the book were read out at the trial by the Public Prosecutor. After he had read one damning indictment of the military service, and implied that the words were Le Jeune's, the Public Prosecutor was asked to examine the book more closely and to tell the Court who originally made the statement quoted.

Covered in embarrassment, answered "Clemenceau."

Investigating pacifists

SO a Californian Senate Investigating Committee have got around to pacifism.

Their fourteenth report, "Pacifism or Pacifism, Which?" deals with "organised efforts (by pacifist groups) to use our schools and colleges for points of contact with youth." Most of its fire is directed at the very active Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Readers of the For's Northern California Newsletter are told:

"As a taxpayer you have already made your contribution towards the cost of having the report issued. You might as well have a copy."

Californian pacifists are urged to make themselves familiar with the report, and to look out for a commentary on it which the Far West Office of the For, (908 Creston Road, Berkeley 8, Calif.) are preparing.

CHIN VISIT

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CHINESE BISHOP VISITS ENGLAND

FROM GERALD BAILEY

THE presence in England of Chinese Anglican Bishop K. H. Ting constitutes the first visit to Europe by a high ranking prelate from Communist China and is particularly significant because the primary purpose of the visit is to attend meetings in preparation for the Lambeth Conference in 1958.

It is believed that there is a strong likelihood of Chinese participation in that world gathering of Anglican Bishops two years hence.

Bishop Ting, formerly of the staff of the World Student Christian Federation in Geneva returned to China after the establishment of the Communist regime and became Bishop of the Province of Chekiang and Vice-Principal of the Nanking Theological Seminary.

This is one of only four inter-denominational seminaries still existing in the People's Republic.

During his stay in England, Bishop Ting will preach in London at St. Martin's in the Field, in Birmingham and in other cities, and will then attend the meeting of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches in Hungary in August—the first to be held in a Communist country.

Bishop Ting's visit is taken to be the result of efforts made by a British Quaker Mission which went to China in 1955 and visited the Tings at Nanking. Both speak English and were eager for news of the West from which they had been virtually cut off since 1950.

The Quakers reported that Bishop Ting cautiously suggested the possibility that the Chinese Christians might resume contact with the West and even with the Council of Churches, but his references to this body were coloured by the charge of its "undue subordination" to American interests and purposes.

Apparently, these reservations have been overcome sufficiently not only to permit him to come to England, but also to allow him to be at the Council meeting in August.

—World Around Press.

Message of tolerance for troubled times

OUR generation is a troubled one. We have passed into an era where great forces and energies, social and physical, greater than anything we have known, stand on the threshold of large-scale release—the Atomic Age.

We could profit by them and indeed we can only survive them by co-operation and by the equation of means to ends. It is only through right means that right ends can be achieved.

These great forces can be used for the benefit of humanity as well as for evil and disastrous ends. It is only by tolerance and compassion that we can overcome the evil with which the Atomic Age threatens to overwhelm us.

Two thousand three hundred years ago, an Emperor of India, Asoka, gave a message to his people and inscribed it on rock and stone which exist today. This message was a message of tolerance of other faiths and other opinions.

He has said in these inscriptions that persons of other faiths should be suitably honoured. Acting in this manner, one certainly exalts one's own faith and helps persons of other faiths. Acting in a contrary manner, one injures one's own faith and also does dis-service to others."

—Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, July 3, 1956.

Quakers: send MPs to Kenya

Horace Alexander on role of Quakers

THE Meeting for Sufferings of the Society of Friends (Quakers) has sent a letter to Mr. A. T. Lennox-Boyd, Colonial Secretary, urging the correction of "certain conditions" in Kenya. The letter, appearing in full in the July 20 issue of *The Friend* began:

"The Executive of the Society of Friends in Great Britain, at its Meeting on 5 vii. 1956, considered the situation in Kenya in the light of recent events, particularly the attention that has been directed to certain conditions there that have been generally deplored.

"We recognise that much has already been done to remedy these things, but we believe that there is still much to do in such matters as the continuance of detention after acquittal, the slowness of release from detention, conditions of imprisonment of young people and the procedure for obtaining confessions."

The Meeting expressed the belief "that the appointment of a British Parliamentary delegation to inquire into the administration of the emergency regulations and conditions in the prisons and detention camps would be valuable at the present juncture, when public opinion in this country is confused and uneasy."

It was felt that such a delegation would "lift the discussion of conditions in the Colony above partisanship."

A request was also made for Mr. Lennox-Boyd to provide an opportunity to discuss "long-range policies for the economic and agricultural development of Kenya" with representatives of the Meeting "at an early date."

SERIOUS DISCUSSION

Serious discussion within the Society of Friends is taking place as a result of Eileen Fletcher's articles in *Peace News*. The Society has been described as experiencing a "crisis" which "has not ended but only begun," in a special "Kenya" issue of *The Friend*, on July 13.

Horace Alexander, well-known Quaker, associate of Gandhi, and a founder of the Fellowship of the Friends of Truth, writing in the July 20 issue of *The Friend*, commented on the role of Quakers in Africa, as compared

with similar previous experience in the Indian struggle for freedom 20 or 30 years ago.

"In India, as in Africa, there were many high-minded British officials, of liberal outlook; there were many devoted Christian missionaries.

"But with few exceptions they all tended to support the necessity of strong Government action against the nationalist leaders, and to decry and discredit 'extremist agitators' such as Gandhi and Nehru.

"A few Friends, of whom Agatha Harrison became one, saw the situation differently. They made friends with Gandhi and Nehru and their colleagues, and sought to explain and interpret their demands in England, making constant representations to the Government.

"Nor were they afraid of publicity, when this seemed to be called for. This caused very unhappy tension within the Society in this country. Agatha Harrison and the rest of us were accused in some quarters of being 'one-sided,' of being the friends of every country but our own, of 'letting down our side,' and all the other usual taunts.

"But she and her colleagues were listened to, even by the Ministers whose policies they were denouncing... In those days the 'agitators' were sometimes an embarrassment to the Quaker workers in India...

MAKING HARSH CHOICES

"As we observe the happy relationship between the two countries [Britain and India] today... the moral hardly needs to be pointed.

"I hope there are Friends today who are the trusted confidants of the future leaders of resurgent Africa. I do not know.

"But I must add one thing. If there are those who are really determined to work with, and not only for, Africans, in the emancipation of Africa, they may be called to make some harsh choices.

"... we had to choose where our ultimate sympathies lay. That choice, in Africa even more than in India, is likely to incur displeasure in Government circles, social ostracism among European settlers, and serious headaches in Friends House.

"I pray that, in the years when representatives of free Africa take their right place in the federation of mankind, there will be some who will say, with a happy light in their eyes: 'Quakers? Oh yes, there were Quakers who were our friends when we were jail-birds and suspects.'"

TATUM ASKS PACIFISTS' RIGHTS

DURING his recent visit to Austria, Arlo Tatum, War Resisters' International Secretary, addressed the Salzburg group of the Austrian Peace Council and paid an unofficial visit to the World Peace Council headquarters in Vienna.

In Salzburg Arlo Tatum spoke of the areas of agreement and disagreement between pacifists and the various peace councils. He listened to enthusiastic and uncritical descriptions of semi-official peace movements in the "people's democracies," and praise for the governments themselves.

In reply, Arlo Tatum asked whether they would respect his judgement if he had described all the peaceful efforts of the United States Government without offering criticism. "Is the most effective peace movement one absolutely independent financially from every government?"

One man replied, "No, it depends on which government." However, Herr Von Funcke, who had helped to arrange the meeting, agreed with the WRI Secretary's implied opinion.

Eight days later both Joyce Runham Brown and Arlo Tatum visited the world headquarters of the World Peace Council in Vienna. Here, also Arlo Tatum emphasised the responsibility

PACIFIST MARY STUMPED THE PROFESSOR

READERS who saw the Manchester Evening News TV critic's comment on a recent ITV "Youth is Asking" programme — "I admired the girl who stuck to her pacifist principles" — will be interested to know that the girl was Mary Taylor, of Hale, Cheshire, a *Peace News* reader.

She was one of a group who questioned Liverpool University's Professor Skinner on nuclear research.

Mary's mother wrote the following impression of the telecast later—it is not verbatim.

At one stage—when Professor Skinner said that he did not see what else we could do but continue making H-bombs—Mary piped up: "We have been shown another way—the way of love."

The professor looked amazed—then one of the boys (who had seen the film "Children of Hiroshima") joined in: "Yes, of course, our present policy is based on fear. I'd rather it was based on love."

Prof. S.: Yes, but suppose the Russians don't respond to love. What then?

Mary: The men who crucified Christ did not respond to his love but he conquered in the end.

Chairman (rescuing Prof. S.): Yes! Well now, Mary has brought this into quite a different field of discussion. Before we close is there any question you would like to ask them?

Prof. S.: Yes. Are you looking forward to the atomic era?

Most of the group: Yes... space travel might be possible...

Mary: I'm rather afraid that with these new weapons we might inflict intense suffering on large numbers of other people. That would be a far more serious thing than the possibility of someone else dropping the H-bomb on us.

Prof. S.: Well, I'm afraid I really don't know what to say about that. Do you think we should disarm completely?

Mary: Yes.

Most of the Group: No.

Before the programme the group were asked to write down the names of the newspapers which they read. Mary wrote: *The News Chronicle* and *Peace News*.

She was able to give that answer only because hundreds of our readers are keeping the paper alive by contributing to the *Peace News* Fund.

We need £3,000 from this appeal by Dec. 31. Can I tell Mary that her courage in voicing her views when they differed from the group—always a hard thing for a scholar to do—has brought a big response this week?

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since July 13: £48 6s. 10d.
Total since January 1: £1,226 7s. 5d.
Anonymous contribution gratefully acknowledged from Sheffield, 5s.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to *Peace News Ltd.* and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Scottish Nationalist objector

JOHN PITT, a twenty-three-year-old solicitor of Edinburgh is not a pacifist but he objects to military service on the grounds that the Army is the Army of England and not of Scotland.

Having failed the local Tribunal, John Pitt went to the Appellate, where he said that there was nothing in the National Service Act which prevented political objections from being made on grounds of conscience.

He told the Sheriff, "It is my contention that, morally, the 1948 Act is not part of the law of Scotland, but legally it is."

Miss Wendy Wood, supporting the appeal said that England had signed the Declaration of Human Rights in which it was made clear that one country was not entitled to impose its laws on persons of another country.

The result of the appeal will be reported to the Secretary of State for Scotland and the Scottish Home Office, before it is published, according to the dictum of Sheriff T. P. McDonald Q.C., Chairman of the Scottish Appellate Tribunal.

INDIA'S ECONOMIC TIES WITH BANDUNG COUNTRIES

INDIA'S Deputy Minister for External Affairs, Mr. A. K. Chanda, told Lok Sabha, in Delhi recently, that India's close economic and cultural relations with her neighbours in South-East Asia and West Asia have been further strengthened following the Bandung conference.

India had nominated a liaison officer to facilitate exchange of information and ideas on economic co-operation among Asian-African countries.

She had also set up an inter-departmental working group for increasing economic co-operation with other countries of the region. Besides, India had provided facilities for technical training to students from other Asian and African countries and had also sent her technical experts.

US policy not disarmament

HAROLD E. STASSEN, Presidential Advisor on Disarmament, said on June 4 at a briefing conference for non-governmental organisations in Washington, that the present United States policy is "safeguarded semi-disarmament."

The goal is an agreed reduction in the level of armaments, not complete disarmament. The Quaker "Washington Newsletter," comments:

"Many persons believe this is a most unrealistic course, and that the problem of national security can only be solved by complete disarmament and the substitution of new methods to settle international disputes without the use of force or threat of force."

PEACE NEWS STAFF CHANGES

Brooke Marvin has joined the *Peace News* office staff as cashier, he will take over from Mervyn Fry who leaves in September, after ten years service, to take a teacher's training course.

Dorothy Harris succeeds Evelyn Aldridge who has been part-time subscription clerk for eight years.



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BOOKS

Helen Keller Meeting man's needs

A review by EDITH H. LYNCH

Helen Keller, by Van Wyck Brooks, London, Dent, 12s. 6d.

AT the age of eighteen months Helen Keller became both deaf and blind; nevertheless, with the aid of her remarkable teacher, Anne Sullivan, she obtained a University degree and could read Greek, Latin, German and French by the age of twenty-four.

A cultured, charming woman who became internationally famous, she can now, at the age of seventy-six, look back on many years of service on behalf of other handicapped people.

Van Wyck Brooks, in this account of her life, is so excited about Helen Keller's achievements that, in his poetic transports, he makes claims which, considered calmly, are quite incredible, even if true, and really ought to be more fully explained. He conveys a picture of a woman who triumphs over difficulties almost as though they had not been there.

Probably Helen Keller herself approves of this approach, but the reader would have obtained a fairer picture if there had been more reminders of the formidable obstacles to be faced by the deaf-blind.

This book was written for the American market, and assumes a familiarity with the American scene and personalities that British readers are not likely to have; it also retains a few American spellings. Except for this it can be recommended to those who are general readers rather than specialists, and who prefer ebullient enthusiasm to scientific precision of statement.

AFRICAN IN ENGLAND

A review by ROBERT GREACEN

A Trick of the Sun, by John St. John, Heinemann, 15s.

IN his new novel John St. John, an executive member of the Authors' World Peace Appeal, tells the story of a young West African student in London, who happens to be the illegitimate son of a deceased English peer.

The odd mixture of blue and African blood leads to consequences alternately amusing and unfortunate. The author's aim has obviously been to poke fun equally at British social pretensions and colour prejudice; and without a doubt he succeeds admirably.

He shows a very considerable awareness of the impact of English life on the various Africans who come to this country to work or study. Here is a novel of biting social criticism in which the author uses a marked sense of humour to underline his points. Strongly recommended.

A review by WILL PARKIN

Original Good, by Macpherson Lawrie, London, C. W. Daniel Company, 6s.

MAN is a complete entity possessing powers necessary to satisfy both his physical and moral needs; he has not only acquisitive and competitive instincts, but also inborn tendencies to pity and compassion; he can never be wholly satisfied with material things; and is constrained to reach out beyond the visible; this desire to relate himself to the infinite is a fundamental emotional need.

These, the author of this little book claims, are primary human tendencies, all of them enabling man to be good, and none of them compelling him to be evil.

Evil and sinfulness in man are due to external causes which the child absorbs through bad influence, example or suggestion, and this emphasises the enormous responsibility, not only of parents and teachers but of all adults, not to debase the minds of others, to exploit their aptitudes for wrong purposes, or belittle their efforts.

He regards nutrition as of great importance, and holds that what is fed to the body is as vital as that which enters the mind. Much of the irritability and obstructive stubbornness we see around us is due to bad nutrition.

The difficulty of this theory for readers of Peace News is that we are sharply divided between the omnivorous and the food reformers, and the former feel themselves as free from despondency and obstructive stubbornness as the latter.

A more serious criticism is the author's acceptance of "knights and warriors" as happy, beautiful and virile influences; in truth they are disastrous influences, perpetuating false ideas, fatal to man's health.

Whilst accepting Mr. Lawrie's desire to make virtue attractive, it is by no means certain that children's pictures designed to make good look beautiful, and evil repulsive would have that effect. However he states a strong case for the potential goodness of human nature, a belief we all share, or we would not be pacifists.

FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

TWO books for twelve to sixteen-year-olds recently published in the "Pageant Books" series are WHO'S FOR THE NORTH? and TO CAPTURE THE KING (Phoenix House, 8s. 6d. each).

Historically sound and with a note at the end telling of present day links with the periods dealt with in the stories, these books are well calculated to rouse the inquiring mind, although there is a good deal of fighting in them—as there always has been in British history.

A child's life of Gandhi

Gandhi is attacked

Last week we read how Gandhi returned home, and while in India wrote "The Green Pamphlet," a little booklet about the cruel way Indians were treated in South Africa.

BEFORE returning to South Africa as he had promised, Gandhi got in touch with all the important men of the Congress Party in India. They listened with great sympathy to his stories about the bad treatment of Indians in South Africa and encouraged him to speak about it on platforms at public meetings in Bombay, Poona and Madras.

People in India already knew much about Gandhi's work for Indians in South Africa and they greeted him everywhere with great enthusiasm. He had already become a national hero.

AS TOLD BY GERTRUDE MURRAY TO THE CHILDREN OF INDIA

As he had already decided to do, Gandhi took his wife and their two little sons, aged eight and four, with him on his return to South Africa.

During the voyage the ship was caught in a terrible storm. It seemed as if the ship might sink at any moment. In their distress and fear the passengers forgot all differences of religion and knelt together in prayer—Hindus, Muslims, Parsees and Christians.

One and all called on God, the Father of Mankind. In this danger they felt themselves all to be brothers.

At last the storm ended and the sky grew clear. Everyone felt happy and relieved, and the ship arrived safely in the port of Durban.

YOU will remember that the white people in South Africa had received false news saying that while in India Gandhi had abused them and told lies about them, and that this news had made them very angry.

When they heard that he was back again they at first refused to allow anybody on the ship to land. Their excuse was that the passengers might have brought plague germs with them from India.

Only after many days was anyone allowed to leave the ship.

As soon as Gandhi set foot on dry land he was recognised by a band of European boys who began to throw stones and rotten eggs at

him. One of them snatched off his turban, while others began to beat and kick him. All this was because they believed he had criticised them unjustly while in India.

He might have been killed if it had not been for a brave English lady, Mrs. Alexander, the wife of the Police Superintendent who was passing by at that moment.

She forced her way between the crowd and poor Gandhi, who was gasping for breath, and opened her umbrella to protect him from the rain of blows. It was now very difficult for the boys to hit Gandhi without striking the lady as well, so they had to stop.

MEANWHILE, an Indian boy, who had seen everything, ran to the police station and told Mr. Alexander, the lady's husband, what had happened.

Mr. Alexander at once sent a number of policemen to protect Gandhi and conduct him to the house of one of his friends—a gentleman named Mr. Rustumjee. Kasturba and her two little boys had already been sent in advance to this friend's house before the attack on Gandhi had taken place.

Poor Gandhi was covered with bruises from the kicks of the cruel boys and had to be attended to by the doctor on arriving at Mr. Rustumjee's house. He badly needed rest and quiet, but soon a crowd of angry people surrounded the house, shouting: "We must have Gandhi!"

The good Police Superintendent, who had been expecting something like this to happen, had followed Gandhi to Mr. Rustumjee's house. He now kept the crowd back by going outside and talking to them in a joking manner, treating their behaviour as if it was all fun.

He even sang a comic song to make them think that he, too, was in a joking mood. While this was going on, Gandhi was quietly escaping from the back entrance of the house, disguised as a policeman.

The idea of escaping in this way was Mr. Alexander's. Perhaps Gandhi himself would not have liked to turn his back on danger, but he had not only himself to protect. There was also Kasturba and her little ones, who might have been injured had the house been attacked.

Neither did he want to bring any trouble on his kind friend Mr. Rustumjee.

As soon as he knew that Gandhi was safely out of the way, Mr. Alexander laughingly told the crowd that their victim had escaped and that they had better go home. Some of the people were very angry at this.

Others could not help laughing at the trick Mr. Alexander had played on them. Some would not believe the story and insisted on

ON PAGE FIVE

Born July 26, 1856

BERNARD SHAW

By F. A. LEA

THE greatness of Shaw, as of all great dramatists, lies in his capacity for making a vast variety of viewpoints his own. It used to be said of his characters that all are Shaw, expounding only Shaw's views. It would be truer to say that Shaw is them all, expounding only their views.

Although, in his plays, passionately held ideas take the place of ideally held passions, he is no more guilty than Shakespeare of putting himself in the other man's shoes.

The ideas are rarely his own.

What is his own is the superlative prose, and the lambent, laughing comprehension that irradiates all alike.

Take MAJOR BARBARA—thanks to Gabriel Pascal, one of the most widely known of all his creations.

It is not to be supposed that Shaw endorsed Barbara's engaging illusion that the individual, in a highly integrated society, can keep her hands unstained by its evils; Andrew Undershaft makes short work of that.

But neither is it to be supposed that he endorsed Undershaft's cynical exploitation of these evils.

The moral of the play is that conscience can now express itself effectively only in an effort to reform society, until its laws, instead of colliding, coincide with and confirm the morality of the individual.

This moral, however, though implicit in "Barbara's return to the colours," is nowhere explicit. Here, as on other occasions, Shaw reserved his own views for the Preface.

The illusion of individualism

He was, we might say, "dialectical" through and through: and not only as a dramatist. There was an intimate connection between all his multifarious activities.

Indeed, it was that very insight into the illusion of individualism (which he owed to Marx) that propelled him beyond the theatre.

If it was needful to change men's minds in order to change their society, it was no less needful, he saw, to change their society in order to change their minds.

The creator of MAJOR BARBARA could not have been other than the polemicist of the Prefaces, nor the polemicist other than the St. Pancras Borough Councillor.

Shaw was many, but also one.

It is said that he was a first-rate committee-man, and that is not surprising. Endowed with such a capacity for entering into other people's points of view, he must have been supremely well able to educe the sense, and reduce the nonsense, of the meeting.

It is said that as a political propagandist he was more of a liability than an asset to the causes he espoused, and that is not surprising either.

Dramatist lives on

He habitually presented his opponents with better arguments than they could ever have thought of themselves, and though he would go on to demolish these, it was not before they had demolished his allies!

A hundred years after his birth and seven years after his death, the committee-man is forgotten; the propagandist is beginning to date: it is the dramatist who lives on.

A pile of pamphlets

The East—near and far

What the Arab World Really Wants, by Basil Davidson, (14pp., London, Union of Democratic Control, 6d.), deals with the Baghdad Pact.

It says that the people of the Middle East regard the Pact as "another instalment of the old bondage which has kept them poor and squalid . . . only one more disguise for Western domination . . . another form of subjection."

Especially with North Africa in revolt against French colonialism, the pamphlet provides some useful background information.

True happiness

The Secret of Happiness, a foretaste of the Vision of Truth or the Way of Peace, by the Barras Seer, (16pp., Author, 1s.).

Despite a little eccentricity in presentation, there is something very appealing about the simple, direct way the author tries to describe his experience in this little pamphlet.

True happiness, he says, which is the sensation of living the more abundant life, the assurance of being in Heaven, is open to anyone who sincerely and utterly gives up self-esteem, ambition, and every form of selfishness and self-seeking.

By such an act of renunciation a man loses nothing he ever really had, and gains an infinite amount which he could never have gained otherwise.

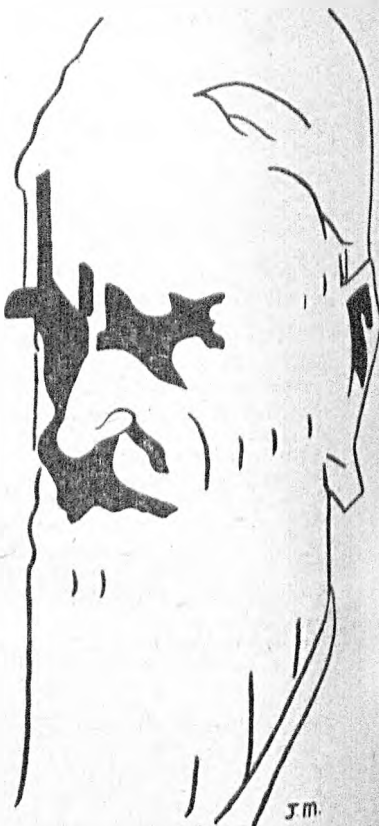
Sanctuary

A Shelter from Compassion, by Ruth E. Durr, (24pp., Pendle Hill Pamphlet 87, 35c.) is also the text of a paper read at an American Quaker College.

It is rather a slight, but persuasive dissertation on man's tendency to seek a shelter from mankind, a sanctuary where hurt and need cannot be seen, nor heard, nor felt, nor permitted to intrude upon his self-preoccupation.

If any man would know God's name, however, he must join the kinship of God's concern that cares not only for the realms beyond the stars, but for the plight of a lonely man and a fallen sparrow.

Reginald Reynolds' photograph in last week's Peace News was provided by courtesy of Jarrolds Publishers Ltd., publishers of his latest book, "My Life and Crimes," to appear this autumn.



Shaw the dramatist, however, lives on by virtue of the self-same capacity.

The ideas that clash in his plays are ideas that will continue to divide us, long after that local and temporary application has receded; and by compelling us to take sides, to take sides against ourselves also, he not merely exerts but expands our minds.

In the last resort, the moral he himself drew from a play was seldom the only, or even the principal moral. (We feel this instinctively in St. Joan, when for once he is integrated enough to draw it on the stage.)

The principal moral of each and all remained implicit to the last—in that comprehension they reflect and transmit, comprehension is allied to toleration. exactly, it is toleration.

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A child's life of Gandhi

FROM PAGE FOUR

entering the house to see for themselves, Mr. Alexander allowed two or three to come in to see that there was only the Rustomjee family and Kasturba with her little boys. Then the crowd went away.

MANY people in South Africa were greatly shocked at the behaviour of the mob led by the foolish, wicked, young men. The government was willing to arrest them if Gandhi would point them out, but he refused. He had firmly made up his mind never to hurt anyone, no matter what they had done to him.

He explained to the Government that he did not blame the foolish young men at all. They had been made to believe that Gandhi was their enemy and that he had spoken badly about them abroad. For this they had wanted to be revenged on him.

He felt that when the truth came to be known, the young men would be sorry.

This noble behaviour of Gandhi made such an impression on the European people of South Africa that a large number of them felt deeply ashamed at what had happened.

The newspapers declared that Gandhi had done nothing wrong and that the crowd had been entirely to blame.

From this we can see that if God will that we shall triumph no earthly power can overcome us, however great it may be. This truth can be learnt again and again from the life of Gandhi.

He was always meek and gentle to his enemies. When they tried to crush him he fought back only with absolute truthfulness and love.

Yet these weapons achieved more than fire or sword could have done. They freed his country from foreign rule and turned his one-time enemies into friends.

NEXT WEEK: Gandhi helps the sick.

died in agony or was born blind or mentally deficient as a result of the atom bomb?

Would he say that Germans were more or less painfully aware of the loss of freedom and justice under Nazi rule than, for instance, Czechs are now of comparable conditions brought about by the war?

One thing seems quite certain, if the Nazis had been overcome by non-violent resistance, instead of merely scotched by war, we would not at this moment be busy rearming the Germans with the able assistance of the very men who rearmed Germany for Hitler.

I have had enough first-hand experience of "precision" bombing aimed at what was vaguely termed "military installations," to be able to assure S. W. Green that it kills and maims civilians as efficiently as any "mass murder" bombing. The difference is one of degree only.

In that connection the word "precision" is one of those euphemisms of war that cover literally a multitude of sins and apparently take in those who wish to persuade themselves that war begins to be immoral when you are able to kill 10,000 with one bomb, instead of having to use a great many bombs to kill the same number.

HILDA VON KLENZE.

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Letters to the Editor

How Britain could disarm

YOUR front page "news" story—"How Britain Could Disarm"—is astonishing. Has the SIPC Working Party been fortunate enough to secure the advice of Walter Mitty? [In the film "The Secret Life of Walter Mitty," Danny Kaye played the role of a man who fancied himself in various roles—all unconnected with his actual life.—Ed.] If so, he shouldn't let his secret life impinge on what could be constructive discussion.

No, we can all play at being pacifist prime ministers, but it's not really very helpful to our own movement, in the present situation.

As a frustrated minority group, we suffer from a temptation to unreal thinking, and your story is the best example seen for some time. End the call-up? Unless we put more effort into our proselytising even a Tory government will have ended it long before we get the chance.

And how much "close study" was needed to decide that a pacifist government should "4. End recruitment to the forces... 6. Close down the Admiralty and the War, Air and Defence Ministries..." Really PN!

Let's study closely how we get public opinion to favour a policy of unilateral disarmament—if we are realistic we shall admit that that will take us long enough.

The "moral power" you refer to will come not as a result of generous economic practical aid—that's confusing cause and effect. Moral power lies in the depth of the change of heart of individuals, that should be our first task.

Inside (page 4) you urge young men to see visions—but your page one invites us all to dream dreams! Don't make us pacifists a laughing stock.

JAMES S. READ, L.L.B.

103 Gower Street,
London, W.C.1.

AS a life-long pacifist, I of course would support all that you say on the front page of Peace News, July 13, re "How Britain Could Disarm," but must confess to some uneasiness at the how of such things... How are we going to meet the reasonable fears of the many thousands who see the means of their livelihood jeopardized by disarmament?

What of the powerful financial corporations involved? Unless we have some very strong and workable propositions to replace the fears of all these people, is there not the danger of us being just smiled upon as impracticable idealists?

Though, perhaps, most of the people mentioned may not be influenced by the presentation of ideals, to place before them sound alternatives to their present wasteful economy might set them thinking—then there is hope.

CHARLES GOUGH.

12 Headlands Grove,
Swindon, Wilts.

As we understand it the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee, in appointing the Working Party, took the view that a factor in getting public opinion to favour a policy of disarmament—one factor among others—was the making evident that it was possible to propound a detailed plan which would provide for the economic and industrial consequences of such a policy and would also make it apparent that those who advocated such a policy were aware of the political consequences that would follow from it.

The Working Party has therefore specifically excluded from its consideration the means whereby public opinion shall be brought to the acceptance of the need for unilateral disarmament as well as the degree of unanimity among the population that would be necessary before legislation to effect it could be entered upon.

The Working Party has thus necessarily started at a point at which it is assumed that there is a public opinion that will make possible the implementation of such measures.

Our report on some of the matters that are under discussion by the Working Party could obviously not do justice to the range of issues that it has under discussion, but the more

THE GOLD COAST ELECTIONS

FROM PAGE TWO

Despite efforts by the opposition (under different labels in different localities) to stir up tribalistic antagonisms and to prejudice the cocoa farmers against the Government's nationalised cocoa-buying and selling (which denies them the full world price so as to build a stabilised fund and finance development projects), the people as a whole have clearly rejected tribalism and voted for a united nation.

So far as the safeguarding of local interests is concerned, the CPP Government's own White Paper proposes that the central government should be supplemented (in line with the Bourne Report) by six consultative and advisory Regional Assemblies and six Houses of Chiefs which would be the authority on customary, social and local constitutional matters.

Further than that, it would be sheer folly to go. Further than that is the possibility only of dividing the country (in effect) into a series of tiny states, each unable to find the administrative personnel or finances to maintain itself.

INDEPENDENCE

No further compromise is possible and the suggestion of a Constituent Assembly is fatuous, except as an independence-delaying tactic. I hope that this will be well understood in Britain.

In the difficult circumstances in the Gold Coast it is fortunate that the African people have chosen, in Kwame Nkrumah and his colleagues, men of abundant patience and tolerance and deep respect for democratic institutions.

But any attempt to undermine the conviction of the people here that the CPP victory means independence this year will cause an explosion which even Kwame Nkrumah will be unable to control.

If there is a Constituent Assembly at this late stage, most people will regard the elections (which impose severe financial strain on the parties and candidates) as having been a complete and humiliating waste of time and money, and many will conclude that a constitutional and peaceful advance to independence is no longer possible.

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As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, Town, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)

Friday, July 27

BELLINGHAM: 8 p.m.; 97 King Alfred Avenue. Meet for mass pacifist canvass.

Every week!

FRIDAYS
SHIPLEY: 7.15 p.m.; Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

SATURDAYS
LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air. Liverpool and District Peace Board.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS
LONDON: Weekend Workshops, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. 1956, 19 Pembroke Villas, W.11.

SUNDAYS
GLASGOW: Open-air mtg. Queens Pk. Queens Victoria Rd. 7.45 p.m.; Glasgow PPU.

HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

TUESDAYS
MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPP.

THURSDAYS
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 100 High Rd. B.10 and B.11 Group PPU.

Saturday, July 28

BARNET: 3-6.30 p.m.; Waverley, Croydon Lane. Garden party. Music, games, bring and buy sale. Pooled. Edible. Spoken and District Peace Fellowship.

WEDNESDAY, August 1

KIDDERLEY: 7.45 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Rally to organise, discuss and plan pacifist canvassing in Greenwich and Lewisham. Fellowship Party.

Thursday, August 16

HAILEX: 7.30 p.m.; Rhodes St. Methodist Ch. Annual Covenant Service. Methodist Peace Fellowship. Service conducted by Rev. Wilfred J. Verinder, RD.

Saturday, September 15

LONDON, N.W.11: London Area Garden Party. King Alfred School, North End Rd. Peace Pledge Union.

Saturday, October 6

CROYDON: 4-6 p.m.; Adult School Hall. Surrey Area Social. Children's Tea Party and Conjuror; Stalls and evening entertainment. Peace Pledge Union.

Saturday, November 3

LONDON, W.1: Welsh Ho. Ch. Bazaar. Religion Commission, Peace Pledge Union.

Saturday, November 24

LONDON, W.C.2: Westminster Friends Mtg. Ho., St. Martins Lane. Peace News Bazaar.

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Russia, The West, and Disarmament

peace groups throughout the world to give a concrete shape to the pacifist movement, concentrating on the most dangerous aspects of the present cold war, rather than contenting themselves with preaching the doctrine of not bearing arms and losing themselves in a vague effort to prevent all armed conflicts.

War has been prevented as Bertrand Russell expected. But the prevention is worse than the disease. The most urgent problem is the particular evil of nuclear armaments.

I would appeal to all friends of peace to concentrate on this and carry on a vigorous campaign for the forthright way of unilateral action which is the only way in this as in other things.

Can all the nations who are not in any particular war of aggression or defence rest completely assured about the marksmanship of nuclear combatants and assume that the guided missiles will not err but will always reach only the intended targets?

Hour has struck

Human experience has demonstrated that despite every caution errors happen and can produce unintended and irreparable harm to those who have nothing to do with the particular war.

All international morality seems to have come to an end. The powers are engaged in a programme of deliberately poisoning the air and the waters of the world, disregarding the rights of the people against whom no war has been declared.

In the preparations for security against possible aggression, wholesale and reckless aggression is practised against the whole

world, disregarding the protests of those who are not parties in the cold war and who suffer irreparable damage by this programme.

The highest scientific authority backs their objection, but it is not heeded and unconvincing explanations are occasionally given as dope.

What Mr. Gromyko has said about the plan of aerial inspection is true. The proposal was no doubt well-intentioned, but there is no doubt that such inspection will only promote the "lust" for further invention and inflame the passion to make deadlier things than what the "other fellow" has.

There is no use harping on aerial inspection and taking no action meanwhile. The hour has struck for seizing the offer made by Russia.

When earnest men and women pray, the needed courage will arrive. What moral initiative has been lost to Russia cannot now be recovered, but we can save further loss by the courage not to be ashamed and to do all we can even now.

SECRET POLICE & LIBERTY

By Olwen Battersby

"MEN and women can now lose, and have lost their livelihood as a result of secret charges, secretly brought by secret police on the secret evidence of a secret informer."

This is a quotation from the leaflet handed to over one thousand people, who, in two separate halls, attended the launching of "a campaign for the limitation of secret police powers."

The meeting had been arranged by a committee of 32 which included Fenner Brockway, MP, Lord Faringdon, Mr. Ian Gilmour (Spectator), Mr. Kingsley Martin (Editor, New Statesman), Mr. J. B. Priestley, and Lord Stansgate.

Mr. J. H. A. Lang, former assistant solicitor to Imperial Chemical Industries, who had recently been dismissed from his post under the security regulations, and his wife, were among those on the platform.

"Some months ago the Government published a White Paper designed to reassure us that it was greatly concerned for public security," pointed out Mr. Ben Levy, the playwright, in opening the meeting, "what in fact it did was to demonstrate how feeble was its concern for personal liberty."

"I would take the risk of having a few Communist spies, and of having them spying like mad, rather than live in a country dominated by secret police," said Mr. J. B. Priestley.

MAN: A SPIRITUAL BEING

He had recently spent time in America; he had seen men known to him hounded from their professional life, driven into exile and even to suicide on behalf of security. The freedom for which our forefathers had fought over the centuries was being tossed away as though of no account.

"I believe there is something, a sort of demigod, which is trying to turn the human race into something like a race of insects. If you oppose this process, you seem to get into a deal of trouble," he continued.

"Yet there must be a lot of people who still believe with me that man is a self-developing and spiritual being whose task is to heighten and deepen consciousness, and that for man to behave so as to fulfil this purpose, he must have as much freedom as is reasonably possible. We are losing this freedom at an astonishing rate."

Mr. Aneurin Bevan, MP, laid great stress on the totalitarian nature of the present governmental powers.

What encouraged me and the Foreign Secretary among other things about the Soviet visit, was that the Soviet leaders accepted, as we accepted, the final destructive effect of nuclear power.

The Prime Minister, July 24, 1956. . . the West German Government will throw its whole weight against any proposals to reduce the numbers of British and American ground troops in Germany . . . The deadly and suicidal nature of thermo-nuclear bombs might well result from everyone refraining from their use in war, so that superiority in conventional forces might again become decisive.

THE ARGUMENT that the possession of the H-bomb, and nuclear weapons of all kinds will deter the Great Powers from ever using them is so constantly used today that it is becoming positively platitudinous on the lips of our so-called statesmen.

The weakness of this argument, and the woolly self-deception which appears to obscure the vision of those who use it, is never mentioned in speeches or in the Press.

It is assumed, apparently, that the losing side

in any "conventional" war between Great Powers, all of whom possess in some hidden arsenals the means of totally destroying their opponents, would "stick to the rules" and not attempt to secure victory except by non-atomic weapons.

This fantasy that nations involved in a major world war would abide by some "gentleman's agreement" is not only arrant nonsense but has been disproved by the past history of such agreements.

The Geneva Convention which should have been a good deal more binding than that spoken word or implied understanding, that attacks should not be made upon civilian populations, was torn up, like the "scrap of paper" it was, when it became evident that mass-bombing of towns was likely to be the deciding factor in the Second World War.

"Obiteration bombing" of Germany was not mere retaliation for Hitler's bombing of British cities; it was, as all can now read in the published memoirs of those who made the decisions, a deliberate military policy to secure victory.

The use of the atom bomb against Japan was equally deliberate as a means to obtain Japanese surrender.

It has been argued here before, and recently in the correspondence columns that it is not only illogical, but mere "wishful thinking" to expect and believe, that nations today will fight wars as though they were knights in armour, tilting at each other with lances and swords, and immediately surrendering if overthrown.

War today has nothing whatever to do with what was once known as chivalry, and when those who insist upon justifying war as a necessary evil have faced this unpalatable, but undeniable fact, the scales may begin to fall from their eyes.

It is not the pacifists who have turned war into massacres; that is the inevitable consequence of relying upon the method of war as though it were the equivalent of a judge and jury in a cause. Obviously, if there is a cause in which it is considered justifiable to go to war it must be fought to win, since no one but a madman would engage in war with the intention of being defeated.

If victory is, therefore, the object, then every means available to the enemy must be ready for use, and if necessary must be used. When it comes to a question of survival in total war there are no rules and it is clear that it is not upon rules of war which the Great Powers now rely, but upon fear of total annihilation.

To find encouragement in the fact that the Soviet Union are aware of "the final destructive effect of nuclear power" as though any one could possibly not be aware of it, seems to be the very last word in puerile complacency.

If the losing side in a non-atomic major war should decide to make a quick move with a few H-bombs, believing that a surprise attack might disarm their opponents, then the world nuclear war, which all the leading statesmen of the world are so sure could not happen, will be upon us.

To threaten the world with total destruction as the only way to peace is not only futile, but immoral. If there is any meaning in that over-worked word co-existence, it must be linked with, and based upon the abolition of war.

* FROM PAGE ONE

THE ISSUES IN THE NIGERIA CRISIS

resigned all directorships. He states that he continued to hold shares.

"When matters affecting the Continental Bank came up for discussion by the Government I disclosed my interest and refrained from participating from any discussion thereon . . . I have no active connection with that bank or any other limited liability company.

Dr. Azikiwe said he had been made a Life Chairman of the bank "without my knowledge and consent" and had "not exercised nor intend to exercise such an imposed privilege."

2. Mr. E. O. Eyo was removed by Dr. Azikiwe from his post as Chairman of the Eastern Region Development Corp. partly because of mounting criticism of alleged inefficiency and corruption against the Corporation and partly because of his having given four months notice of intention to resign because he could not work in "an atmosphere of intrigues and jealousy."

DEBATE URGED

3. Three times Mr. Eyo had published in the Nigerian Press notice of a motion in the House and amendments to it before they had appeared on the Order Paper of the House.

His motion called for a debate on the charge that the Premier had grossly abused his office by allowing public funds, totalling £2,000,000, to be invested in the African Continental Bank Ltd. in which he had a substantial interest.

It urged the Executive Council to recover all such funds and to cause the accounts of the bank to be audited by a reputable firm of auditors.

An amendment by Mr. Eyo accused Dr. Azikiwe of complicity with the bank, and sought an independent commission of inquiry appointed by the Governor.

Mr. Eyo is said to have bragged that he was advised by the Attorney-General and others he had the Governor's backing.

Dr. Azikiwe described accusations against him as "grossly libellous." The Speaker ruled that the motion was out of order, as it dealt with a subject matter which was pending or under adjudication, thereby being

subjudice.

The opposition United National Independence Party and the Action Group members walked out, threatening not to return until Dr. Azikiwe cleared his name. They were absent during the vote on a motion of confidence.

Dr. Azikiwe declared that he expected "the court of law and not a commission of inquiry to establish my guilt or innocence."

4. The Governor was willing to accede to opposition requests to over-rule the decision of the Speaker, and also appoint a commission of inquiry.

The NCNC Ministers advised against such action on the grounds that:

(a) the Governor cannot legally interfere with the Speaker's ruling;

(b) commissions of inquiry allow hearsay and other evidence inadmissible in court proceedings and;

(c) the libel actions instituted by Dr. Azikiwe already provide fully opportunity for Mr. Eyo and co-defendants to offer all evidence which can stand the test of the court standards;

(d) a court of law is better than a commission for establishing guilt or innocence, or even improper conduct.

The Governor, however, insisted that the Premier should submit himself to a commission of inquiry despite the pending cases. The Council of Ministers then agreed to a commission of inquiry if a member of the Bench were appointed by the Government as sole commissioner.

Governor Pleass is described by Dr. Azikiwe as being "used to giving dictation to others and making confidential reports about political agitators."

"In our honest opinion judged by the thirty months of close collaboration with him," declared the Premier, he is a governor of the old type who is completely out of touch with the spirit of contemporary British colonial policy, and "incapable of adapting himself to constitutional government."

The Secretary of State for the Colonies,

Mr. Lennox-Boyd, however, held the view that banking was within the competence of the Federal Government and, therefore, the Ministers should advise him to appoint a commission of inquiry on their behalf.

"Naturally," declared Dr. Azikiwe, "this was not only regarded as insulting and provocative but is open to dispute because the gravamen of Mr. Eyo's motion is not necessarily or necessarily the organisation and administration of banking which is a federal subject but the investment of public funds of the Eastern Region in a bank which is a residual subject."

"It is not enough for a Colonial Secretary 4,000 miles away to rely exclusively on information given him in a secret despatch . . ."

"It is necessary that the immediate senior officials who work with the Secretary of State should be persons not only of transparent integrity but those who appreciate the fundamental change in British colonial policy."

NATURE OF DICTATION

The African leader listed "the nature of dictation by the Secretary of State [for the Colonies, Mr. Lennox-Boyd] and Governor Pleass" as being:

"1. The Secretary of State does not like the idea of public funds being invested in the African Continental Bank, contrary to the policy of my Government.

"2. The Governor is opposed to the idea of abolishing the banking monopoly enjoyed by the Bank of British West Africa, contrary to the policy of my government.

"3. The Governor would prefer to over-rule the ruling of Mr. Speaker in connection with Mr. Eyo's motion thereby giving all and sundry an opportunity under the cloak [of] parliamentary privilege to sully my good name. My Government feels that [the] ruling of Mr. Speaker must be upheld since it was a lawful act."

"4. The Governor prefers a commission of inquiry to a court of law for purpose of establishing the innocence or guilt of the

Premier in connection with the allegations of Mr. Eyo contrary to the policy of my Government.

"5. The Secretary of State prefers to appoint a commission of inquiry in his absolute discretion for and on behalf of the Government provided we advised him to do so. We are not prepared to stomach this insult, especially where there has not been any exchange of views between my Government and the Colonial Office on this subject.

"6. The Secretary of State interprets Mr. Eyo's motion as falling within the jurisdiction of the Federal Government. My Government was advised by our learned Attorney-General that the substance of Mr. Eyo's motion is residual and therefore within our competence.

"The legal adviser to the Premier's Office concurs with this opinion.

"In other words, both the Secretary of State and the Governor prefer to impose their will on my Government contrary to the policy we have lawfully formulated under the Nigeria (Constitution) order in Council 1954.

"Certainly this is dictation pure and simple and no honest nationalist would interpret it otherwise.

"That was why I declared publicly that [I] would rather resign my high office than acquiesce in such a humiliating situation. NCNC Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries and party leaders all over Nigeria have been conferring with Dr. Azikiwe, asking him not to resign.

They have assured him of full support in a showdown in the struggle against an arrogant Governor supported by a credulous Colonial Office."

*This refers to the motion, mentioned in last week's PN, introduced in the Legislature deploring the investment. Apparently Dr. Azikiwe did not, as previously reported, plead for an over-ruling of the Speaker's decision.

Registered as a newspaper. Entered as second-class matter at post office, Boston, USA. Published from 3, Market Rd., London, N.4, by Peace News Ltd., Printers, Fish & Cook Ltd., 67 U.S., 135 Pimlico Rd., London, W.1.

